





# North American Indian Cavalry

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## ARGUMENT

BY

DR. JOSEPH KOSSUTH DIXON

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sixty-fifth Congress

ON

H. R. 3970

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*To Organize Ten or More Regiments of Indian Cavalry  
as Part of the Military Forces of the United  
States, to be Known as the North  
American Indian Cavalry*

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Delivered Wednesday, July 25, 1917

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### House of Representatives Sixty-Fifth Congress

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock A. M., Wednesday, July 25, 1917, Hon. S. Hubert Dent, Jr. (chairman) presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I called this meeting this morning at the request of Mr. Kahn, who wanted a hearing on a bill which he has introduced (H. R. 3970) to organize ten or more regiments of Indian cavalry.

MR. KAHN. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I would like to introduce Mr. Dixon, who knows a great deal about the American Indian.

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ARGUMENT OF DR. JOSEPH KOSSUTH DIXON, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, the subject before us this morning is one of such profound and vital interest, both to the Nation and to a great race of people, that while I endeavor to go into the matter somewhat extensively, I am very sure that I shall have your patient interest and sympathy.

**THE FLAG IN PERIL** The Stars and Stripes have never known defeat. The flag of Freedom has never trailed in the dust. It has been torn by shot and shell, the thunderbolts of war have been hurled against it, but the stars in the blue above have looked down upon the stars in the field of blue below and anxious, loyal hearts have uttered the glad cry, the Old Flag "is still there."

To-day the flag is in peril. Above it floats another banner—a banner that must come down. Across its folds, written in letters of fire, you may read the ominous words, "ENDANGERED LIBERTY."

In the steeples of time the clock is striking the hour of destiny for this nation. For the American Republic it is the Day of Judgment. The day is dawning for the dethronement of the impious rule of Kings and the enthronement of the dominion of Liberty for all peoples. The call to war has come—the inspired call of the President has reached the ear of the nation, and from city and hamlet and rural highway men are springing to arms in the defense of their homes and their nation, and for the destruction of the Old World despotism. Already our boys in khaki are facing the forces on the shell-torn fields of France; already the voice of our flag has said—the murder of innocent children sleeping amid the ooze of the deep sea-bottom shall be avenged; already the flag above the trenches seals the verdict that the dust of Emperors and Kings shall sift across the desert and the whole world shall breathe the air of liberty.

The fight is on. The Senate and the Congress of the United States placed in the hands of the President the resources of the nation to join hands with the peoples of Europe who have been fighting our battles for us, to wrest victory from the savage and barbarous hand of German autocracy.

The President will need every resource of the nation. The Congress pledged the President every resource of the nation.

The purpose of this bill is to make available immediately and effectively one of our resources to which little heed has been paid. There is a great, unused, potential military force in the United States. It is to be found in the 189 tribes of the North American Indian. This force is a far-flung host, scattered from the Penobscot in Maine to the shores of the peaceful Pacific, and from Itasca's springs, whence flows the "Father of Waters," to the Everglades of Florida. These people are now called the "Wards of the Government." They are capable of becoming a staple and effective part of the military organization of the country.

This bill authorizes the recruiting of ten or more regiments of Indian cavalry; and in return for the service which these red men stand ready to render the nation, it is provided that they shall be given citizenship—a return which can be considered simply as fair play; for if a man is willing to lay down his life for a country, he surely ought to be made a part of that country.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY We are face to face with a responsibility that beckons from the folding wigwam and the dying echo of moccasined feet. I place in your hands today the destiny of a whole race of people. In the geographies the North American Indian is registered as one of the five great races of the world. I am not to discuss the tragedies of yesterday so much as to point out the triumphs of tomorrow. It is not my concern so much what we have done *to* the Indian as it is what we shall now do *with* the Indian, what we shall do *for* the Indian, and what we shall do *for ourselves* by helping the Indian.

MANY REASONS

There are many reasons why we should avail ourselves of this military resource. A searchlight on our past may become a beacon light for our future. Let me turn, therefore, to the

I. In the early settlement of this country, the Spaniards came with the avowed purpose of conquest and subjugation. The French sought profit both for themselves and their king, but they employed conciliatory measures. The English principle assumed exclusive title based on the right of discovery, and made no provision for the political or civil rights of the native inhabitants.

The Pilgrim Fathers lived up to the spirit of this principle. They came to this country as exiles. They fled from one sort of tyranny, and had no sooner landed on these shores than they established another sort of tyranny. Because the colonists differed so radically in social position; because there was such an admixture of wealth and poverty; the weaker feared the stronger, they therefore entered into a covenant before landing, enacting laws and ordinances which were to work for the general good of the new community. But these laws and ordinances *did not*

*include the Indian.* In the new government formed, the Indian was not accorded any civil or political rights.

These very Indians were a free and independent people, associated together in nations and tribes and governed by their own laws. Their government was a perfect democracy, the Chief ruling by will of the People. Is there any record of the settlers of this country ever treating with the established government they found on these shores?

Chief Justice Taney, in the celebrated Dred Scott case, a decision which President Lincoln most caustically denounced, says of the African:

"It was too plain for argument that they had never been regarded as a part of the people or citizens of the State, nor supposed to possess any political rights which the dominant race might not withhold or grant at their pleasure."

This is precisely the position held by the nation with reference to the Indian, from the time of the compact made on the deck of the little ship in the Bay of Cape Cod, until this present hour. The English colonists regarded the Indian as a barbarian; he has been so regarded and so treated since 1620.

II.                   The Indian gave the white man the right hand of  
CHARACTER OF       fellowship when he landed on these new shores.  
THE INDIAN       Columbus, writing to his sovereign, says:

"THERE ARE NOT A BETTER PEOPLE IN THE WORLD  
THAN THESE, NOR MORE AFFECTIONATE, AFFABLE AND  
MILD; THEY LOVE THEIR NEIGHBORS AS THEMSELVES."

Again, he writes:

"Laying aside prejudice, they are among *the highest types of native men.*"

Later history fully corroborates these impressions of the great discoverer. Their spirit of intrepidity, their unwearying fidelity, their unswerving integrity, their unstained honor, their unimpeachable veracity, their undaunted bravery, their loyal friendship, their glad spirit of service, even when they knew that they had been wronged. The virility of mind displayed, the powers of statesmanship demonstrated, the oratorical ability achieved, all conspire to invest them with a supremacy of character little dreamed of in the common estimate of the Indian.

Where, I ask you, in the annals of the world can you point to a race of people who for three hundred years and more could resist the aggressions of four great nations—England, France, Spain and America—without any of the resources of civilization? For almost that entire period they numbered not more than three hundred thousand warriors, and for most of that time could not make a gun, a ball, a knife, or an ounce of powder. Without character, what race of people could endure the strain without uttermost annihilation?



III.  
THE TREATMENT OF  
THE INDIAN ACCORDED  
BY CIVILIZATION

The Indian made reprisals. Of course he did. He had a right to make reprisals. When the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the shores of New England the Indian gave these fugitives from the Old World tyranny a welcome, and stood mutely, silently, and with grave interest, to witness what they would do. They listened to the professions of faith and loyalty to the Supreme Being. They had a religion of their own, which they contrasted, and then, in amazement, they wondered how these Pilgrims could profess and reconcile their professions of faith in God, and at the same time push them out of their homes and seize their lands. They also feared because, four years before, an English trading vessel had anchored in this same bay, the traders came ashore and captured twenty-one Indians and carried them away to be sold as slaves in Spain. Still the Indian showed friendship. When Governor Bradford proclaimed his first Thanksgiving dinner for a bountiful harvest, Chief Massasoit gathered with his braves and participated in the celebration. THEN—came the white man's covetousness for the homes and the land of the Indian; and the Indian marveled at the effect of this new religion. The red man was driven back—and still back.

Is it assumed that when he was attacked, his home pillaged and destroyed, his children slain, his land stolen, that he had no right to defend himself? Is Belgium condemned because the guns of an invading and devastating army were trained upon her homes, her libraries, and her cathedrals?

Some of the reddest chapters of our frontier life were written in the blood of Indian warfare. It is largely accounted for in the fact that every geographical step of civilization westward has been made over the demolished teepee of the Indian and the despoliation of every interest of his life.

In addition, after the greatest civil struggle in history had ended in the emancipation of one type of color, the victorious captain said, "Let us have peace," and then he proceeded to cut in pieces another type of color, using the flower and chivalry of the Federal army for the prosecution of his work. The Indian said: "No! This land is ours. We hold a deed in fee simple, registered in the archives of heaven. The ground is our mother, therefore we cannot part with this land—it belongs to the generations past and to the generations yet to come." And he proceeded with a whip of small cords to drive the invader out of his temple. The answer was the flash of the sword and the smell of powder.

Civilization thereupon proceeded to demolish his philosophy of life, destroy his religion, seal the lips of his oratory, strike to the earth his age-long customs and ceremonies, deprive him of his personal rights, banish his costumes and manner of dress, forbid the wearing of eagle feathers—his symbol of "victory"—for no eagle feather that had soared in the blue was ever allowed a place in his war bonnet, save by vote of the council of the tribe as a token of some deed of valor.



If there is right to deprive the Indian of his "Victoria Cross," then is there not equal right to take from the coats of the glorious veterans of the Civil War the Grand Army buttons? Civilization has corrupted the Indian instead of incorporating him into the body politic. For his code of honor we have substituted broken treaties. Even the conception of these treaties was fraudulent. It may be stated without fear of challenge that every treaty made with the Indians for the sale of their lands was consummated by undue pressure, was not understood by the Indians, and was characterized by flattery and misrepresentation. Let me cite a pertinent example:

When the Erie Canal was well forward in its construction, it was desirable to give impetus to western immigration. The West must be opened up. The United States must have more land. The chiefs refused to sell. Chief Metea protested with great eloquence—the Indians were intimidated. Fraud and whisky conquered. So palpable was the fraud that the "London Times" said of it:

"The United States have driven a hard bargain with the miserable Indians. For forty-five thousand dollars (\$45,000.00) in merchandise they have prevailed upon the helpless aborigines to surrender five millions of acres of fertile land to the westward of the Lakes, equal in surface to about one-fourth of Ireland."

Thus the catalog goes endlessly on—these are but hints by the way.

IV. THE PRESENT-DAY STATUS OF THE INDIAN	When the first map of America was drawn it was dotted with the wigwams of one million two hundred thousand red men. After painstaking research on the part of the Bureau of Ethnology it has been determined that the decrease in Indian population amounts to sixty-five per cent., leaving a fading remnant of three hundred and twenty thousand.
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There are four contributing causes to the decimation of the race:

*First.* The introduction of disease—by the white man.

*Second.* The introduction of whisky—by the white man.

*Third.* Tribal wars—and warfare with the white man.

*Fourth.* The housing of the Indian upon inhospitable reservations—by the white man.

Some of these reservations abound in fertile acres, with rich minerals; but the majority of them are an assignment of territory upon which a white man would starve. A conspicuous example is to be found in the Navajos—twenty-eight thousand in number—brought up from the south and quartered on the Arizona desert—the boast is made "twelve million acres." The Spanish has it "*Arid Zone.*" Twelve million acres of *miserere*. A dirge of landscape. Vast and forbidding stretches of glistening sand that drifts like the snow. Water holes composed of salt, soap and alkali, twenty-five to fifty miles apart, where the sun, a molten ball of fire, pours down upon the fetid waters. The cattle and sheep wade in it and drink it; the Indian washes his clothes in it, and then drinks it—it is all that he has to drink. You could not raise a radish here any more than you could raise an angel.

The reservation is without mitigation a system of slavery, despair and vagabondage. The Indian may not leave the boundary of his prison-acreage without a passport. The will of the reservation superintendent is law, and he alone is responsible to the one power above him. All requests, however small or personal, must pass through his office. A Christian civilization should regenerate. The reservation degenerates. It devastates, dethrones, destroys. Is it mockery to call it civilization? Is it slavery? Have we freed one race and enslaved another?

Is it not time to clear our own land of autocracy before we attempt to wipe autocracy from the map of Germany? Is it not more than autocracy? Is it not despotism pure and simple? Have we not interned a whole race of people, not for a period lasting "during the war," but for life?

The condition of the Indian is anomalous in the history of civilization, and an indictment of the Declaration of Independence.

MR. KAHN. Let me ask you this question: I saw some officers of the Interior Department not long ago, and they told me that there is deep sympathy between the Indians on the American side of the Rio Grande and the Indians—the Yaquis—of Mexico, and that they have secret methods of intercommunication. If the Indians on the American side of the line were to be organized into these regiments and were to become United States soldiers, do you think that would have effect in keeping the border Indians in Mexico in peace, so that we would have no further border troubles in Mexico?

DR. DIXON. I most surely do, Mr. Kahn. There is a telegram in this morning's paper from El Paso which says that the Germans are leading the Villa forces to victory and that they have already captured three towns, and we are going to hear from the southern border. In my argument later on I take up quite fully this very question.

MR. MCKENZIE. Will you let me ask you a question right there? Are the men that these Germans are leading in Mexico Indians or are they Mexicans?

DR. DIXON. The backbone of the Mexican military forces is composed of these Yaqui Indians.

MR. ANTHONY. Is it not true that the Yaqui Indians have always been in opposition to the Mexican Government?

DR. DIXON. No; they are fighting with the Government.

MR. ANTHONY. My information has been that they have always opposed the Government of Mexico; in fact, have always opposed all organized government.

DR. DIXON. Then if that be true, and that point is well taken, they will oppose Carranza and unite with Villa.

MR. ANTHONY. Are the Indians that you propose to enroll in these regiments registered now under the draft?

DR. DIXON. I presume they are.

MR. ANTHONY. Then would not the War Department have authority now to organize these Indians into regiments if it desired?

DR. DIXON. If they desired they could organize them into regiments, but that does not touch the point of citizenship.

MR. ANTHONY. Are not all Indians who have been allotted lands citizens now?

DR. DIXON. They are, nominally, but all of them are not in reality. I am coming to that point in a moment.

MR. GREENE. May I ask you a question? Under the present military law there is provision for Indian scouts, and we have one or two organizations of Indian scouts who are not attached to the regular establishment.

DR. DIXON. Yes; the law reads "that no alien, black or white, may become a part of the military organization of this country *except the Indian.*"

MR. GREENE. Now, these Indians have served ever since——

DR. DIXON (interposing). Ever since 1861.

MR. GREENE. Ever since the Civil War as Indian scouts. Has the question of their citizenship ever been raised as an incident either to their obligation to serve or their reward for service?

DR. DIXON. Never.

MR. GREENE. And these men have been serving right along regularly and have never raised the question of having citizenship held out to them, but were glad to get the job of serving under the circumstances?

DR. DIXON. They were glad to express their patriotism, but would also have been glad to have been made a part of the country which they were serving, but were not afforded the opportunity; and there is not an example of patriotism abroad or in the whole Republic that is so fine as just that.

MR. GREENE. But they were professional scouts, serving for a consideration?

DR. DIXON. The Indian is not a professional scout, he is a born scout. He is a scout from the cradle up.

MR. GREENE. Of course, if he employs his inheritance for a livelihood, it becomes a profession.

DR. DIXON. Yes; it becomes a profession, I presume, but he loves it.

MR. GREENE. I understand that.

MR. KAHN. Mr. Dixon, you have been acquainted with the American Indians for a great many years?

DR. DIXON. Yes, sir.

MR. KAHN. For how long?

DR. DIXON. Fifteen years.

MR. KAHN. And have you traveled extensively among the Indian tribes?

DR. DIXON. I visited every tribe of Indians in the United States in 1913, and studied their home life, their manners and customs, their sports and their methods of warfare.

MR. KAHN. Did you have occasion to interview them about this very question of their being organized into regiments to defend the border of the United States?

DR. DIXON. Not on that expedition, but I have interviewed numerous prominent Indians since then with reference to it.

MR. KAHN. What did they say about it?

DR. DIXON. They are anxious to do it, but they are anxious to join the Army as units. They want to preserve an *esprit de corps*. They want to show the Nation that they can come back. They want to show that they have got the Indian spirit, and the desire to fight side by

side, and they also express a wish that they fight under competent United States Army officers. They do not want officers appointed by the Governors of States for political reasons. They want well-trained United States Army officers to lead them.

MR. KAHN. They have so expressed themselves to you?

DR. DIXON. Yes.

MR. GORDON. Mr. Dixon, you have raised a very interesting question here. The Constitution of the United States provides that all persons born or naturalized within the United States are citizens of the United States. Now, I have always understood, as a matter of law, that that applied to every Indian who had severed his tribal relations. Now, for whom do you speak here—Indians who maintain their tribal relations or those who have severed that relation? If you speak for those who have severed their tribal relation, there is no doubt in my mind but what they are citizens of the United States and subject to this draft.

DR. DIXON. There are men who are members of the Indian tribes who are citizens, and there are hosts of others who are not citizens. They are entitled to citizenship, but their land is so entailed that they can not become citizens, and it is a misnomer to call them citizens. According to the ruling of the Supreme Court, no Indian who is not taxed can become a citizen, so that any untaxed Indian, whether he has severed his tribal relation or not, can not therefore be named as a citizen of the United States.

Let me further say that the Indian has been given citizenship by the allotment of his land, but the allotment of that land was conditioned, and citizenship was to come to him upon the receipt of a patent in fee simple to the land. But that patent in fee simple was to be given after 25 years, so that the Indian is held off from citizenship. His citizenship was curtailed, cut down, sliced off by land laws, and he is not a citizen and can not be. It is a sham and a mockery.

MR. GORDON. How many Indians are there now in the United States?

DR. DIXON. Three hundred and twenty thousand. The original number was 1,200,000.

MR. KAHN. How many males of military age?

DR. DIXON. I could not give you that figure, Mr. Kahn.

MR. GORDON. That would make over 50,000.

DR. DIXON. I went to every reservation in the United States in 1913, after the Indians had raised the United States flag at Fort Wadsworth, and they said that never before had they felt they were part of this country, and Mr. Wanamaker said that if these grizzled old warriors felt that way, "you had better go out to every tribe in the United States and raise the United States flag." The Indian was a man without a flag and they never had a flag until I gave them that flag through the efforts of Mr. Wanamaker. The eloquence of some of their speeches in the raising of the flag was equal to a Clay or a Webster. They signed this declaration of allegiance to the Government. They are full of patriotism, and are ready to spring now to the defense of the country.

In Independence Hall, Philadelphia, there hangs the sublimest of all our nation's heirlooms—the Old Liberty Bell. Around its worn bronze dome you read the immortal lettering from the great Lawgiver of Israel:

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND,  
TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."



Let the hand of Democracy carve another line:

**"THE INDIAN EXCEPTED."**

Liberty for the black man, the brown man, the yellow man, the white man, but no liberty for the Indian. Today the Indian has no rights in the courts of the land. He cannot prosecute a single case in the Court of Claims without a special act of the Congress in each individual case. The hour has come to ratify the Declaration of Independence—or to resurrect Thomas Jefferson and ask him to redraft the immortal document.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

This sublime impeachment of autocracy was sealed with the blood of patriots amid the snows of Valley Forge, on the crimson heights of Bunker Hill, and the reddened fields of Lexington, Ticonderoga and Yorktown. For this liberty Washington fought, and for this liberty Lincoln bled and died.

Our own great President said in his wonderful Mobile speech that liberty must be assured to every man, woman and child in the broad domain of the United States. In the great State papers that have issued from his pen during the controversy with the rampant despotism of the Imperial German Empire, the President has repeatedly and forcefully declared that smaller and dependent peoples shall be protected and their interests safeguarded—that "the WORLD shall be made safe for democracy."

President Wilson's message to Russia rings true for an entire and absolute reversal of our treatment of the North American Indian. He said:

"We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. *Wrongs* must first be *righted*, then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again.

**"WHATEVER READJUSTMENTS ARE NECESSARY MUST BE MADE.**

"But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain.

**"NO PEOPLE MUST BE FORCED UNDER SOVEREIGNTY UNDER WHICH IT DOES NOT WISH TO LIVE."**

This righteous doctrine, this sublime sentiment, this God-directed statesmanship, applies to the *Indian nation* as fully as it applies to the Russian nation—to any and all nations.

The Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, declared on Independence Day last, in the Stadium of the College of the City of New York, that

"We must keep the faith here. We must preserve the sweetness of our rights. We must agree in deeds of grace here, as our soldiers do deeds of grace on the other side."

Continuing his most remarkable address, the Honorable Secretary further said:

"I can see the day when this harbor of yours will be filled with the mass of ships returning from abroad and bringing back our soldiers. They will come it may be with their ranks somewhat thinned

by sacrifice, but with themselves glorified by accomplishment; and when those heroes step off the boats, and come ashore and tell us that they have won the fight for democracy in Europe, we must be able to tell them in return that we have kept the faith of democracy at home and won battles here for that cause while they were fighting there."

Mr. Chairman, does not this all mean that every resource and every recourse of democracy must be immediately and effectively applied to the alleviation of the condition of the North American Indian? Does it not mean that if our history is not to be written down as a vain show; that if these inspired utterances are not to be proven mere "scraps of paper," that this Committee will speedily and favorably report this bill and earnestly prosecute its passage, and thus pave the way for a *new* Declaration of Independence and the emancipation of a whole race of people? And thus again verify the words of Secretary Baker—

"PRESERVE THE SWEETNESS OF OUR RIGHTS."

Let us bear in mind that we shall never work out efficient and worthy methods for other nations, and our own nation as well, "unless we preserve certain old-fashioned virtues which lie at the root of every species of public and of private usefulness."

The attempt will utterly fail to restore devastated France, to reëstablish blighted Belgium, and erase the scars from stricken Serbia and Poland, unless we champion most gloriously the rights of a stricken people within the confines of our own borders. A people who under the present paternal system of Indian administration are deprived of every self-independent right, who are languishing in misery and dying of starvation and tuberculosis, superinduced by this process of starvation.

V. THE IRRECONCILABLE CONFLICT FOR DEMOCRACY IS ON!	Europe is a charnel house. Europe holds the bloodiest battlefields the world has ever known. Europe has had three of the blackest years of pain and sorrow the world has ever registered—three years of unflinching courage, three years of devotion and death. And now our boys will fill unnumbered and unknown graves. America will bleed, and dig as many graves in the hearts of the people as stranger hands will dig amid the wreck of battle.
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Why all this atheism of despair, this glorified self-effacement and sacrifice—that our own liberty may be preserved and perpetuated and democracy be the realized ideal of every world-nation?

We have fallen upon days of a militant democracy. Never before in the history of man has the public mind been so saturated with a desire to assert itself as a positive, dominant factor as today. This is an era of agitation and reform. The whole world is rampant of individual and political rights and privileges. The world is but following in the wake of this Republic. When Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, and others of that noble band of men, flung out the banner of freedom, they were the representatives of a militant democracy, challenging every throne and every occupant of a throne, every despotic and autocratic government,



to mortal combat. War on autocracy was declared in 1776, not in 1917. The United States set in action then, and has kept in action ever since, the forces that are warring against autocracy in Europe at this hour. Hence it is that this is not a war of nations and races, it is the mighty cataclysm brought about by the final clash between an ever-advancing and all-powerful democracy and the despotic barbarism of an Old World autocracy.

Since all of this is all of it true, corroborated by the blinding stress of this tragic hour; the proclamations of the President and the legislation of this great body, the pity and hurt of it all is that as a nation of freemen we have dispossessed a race of people of their homes and their land—vanquished them because we had the power to do it at the point of the bayonet. They have proudly and solemnly marched to their last outpost—no longer owners of the soil, but still makers and founders of a life that created warriors, orators and MEN.

Proof that *we* are MEN, proof that we are true lovers of liberty, that we have entered into this WORLD-CONTEST with clean hands, clean consciences, and a pure purpose to shed righteous blood for a righteous cause, may now be found in a like manly, clean, and righteous fulfillment of the ideals of democracy as applied to the despoiling conditions that have been allowed to obtain under the flag born in liberty and baptized with the blood of liberty. Men and patriots, until we can eradicate and uproot every vestige of despotism on these shores, let our guns remain silent and our swords sheathed in the cause of liberty across the seas.

THIS you will do! This done! Let me turn to the consideration of

#### VI. THE AVAILABILITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF THE INDIAN AS A SOLDIER

The most audacious prophet may not foretell the end of this titanic struggle. The most common sort of prudence demands that every possible resource of the nation be immediately and completely requisitioned. Patriotism demands it, and the paramount obligation we owe to the soldiers who go forth to do battle for us compels it. Our safety as a nation makes it *imperative!*

Transposing a little a New Testament declaration—

“How shall we escape if we neglect *any* salvation.”

Within reach of our hands there is a mighty potential military force. The Indian can fight, and will fight. More than this, he is willing and anxious to fight. By no stretch of the imagination can we conceive of the Indian as a pacifist! Indeed, his entire history has been a record of proud and militant defense of what he believed to be his rights and of patient and tireless resistance of what he regarded as oppression. Whatever we may be forced to admit of some Americans to-day, we must concede that the original Americans have never been rightfully accused of cowardice, of shirking, as being “slackers,” or dodging a fight.

The Indian has ever been a warrior. Centuries of struggle against the forces of nature, and intertribal conflicts, and in later years of

resistance to the encroachments of the white race, have fitted him for that *role*. He has all the qualities of the natural soldier—strength, courage, intelligence, loyalty, power of endurance, stoicism, sagacity, persistence and relentlessness of purpose. He is a good hater and a staunch friend, a valorous ally and a fearless foe. We have been taught too much concerning the savagery of the Indian, and too little of his virtues, when contrasted with the barbarous brutalities, the unspeakable cruelties, the nameless and diabolical atrocities practiced by that self-styled flower of “KULTUR” who now seeks to blight the civilization of the whole world.

However, disciplined Indian forces have never been charged with cruelty or savagery. That the Indian responds to discipline, and that most readily and efficaciously, we have abundant and the best authority.

In the early '90's Lieut. Hugh L. Scott, now Major-General Scott, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army, recruited and commanded a troop of Indians, which became Troop L of the 7th Cavalry. I quote from the Inspector-General of the Army, dated April 2, 1893, which says:

“This troop has been organized about a year, and is as far advanced as some troops of white men. Considering that the troop is made up of wild Indians, who do not speak or understand English, it is certainly remarkable the state of proficiency they have been brought to, both in drill and discipline, and in so short a time.”

Again, Major A. S. Daggett, 13th Infantry, reports from Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory, under date of June 2, 1893, to Lieut. Scott:

“Having been present at the monthly inspection of your troop on the 31st ult., I want to say for your encouragement how gratified I was at its appearance. A little more than a year ago they were blanket Indians; now they represent a clean and neat appearance, and stand in line with a soldierly bearing. As far as my observation goes, they are performing well all the duties required of white soldiers. At all fire drills they have invariably been the first on the ground. I have had no better orderlies than those selected from the troop. If in one year's time these Indians have made such progress, what shall we predict of them after they have had four or five years of service? I believe that under your wise and judicious direction they are making rapid advancement toward civilization.”

And again, under date of July 1, 1893, Major Daggett reported concerning this troop:

“First Lieut. H. L. Scott, Seventh Cavalry, during the past twelve months, transformed a number of blanket Indians into a clean, orderly and fairly well drilled and disciplined body of soldiers. Their bearing and general appearance on review were fine. If they make as rapid progress in the future as in the past, they will be among the very best soldiers in the army.”

Major, now Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, then commander of the Department of Missouri, forwarded to the Adjutant-General of the Army this statement relative to these Indians:

“Regarding the recommendation to disband Troop L, Seventh Cavalry, I would not recommend it, unless the men were immediately re-enlisted as Scouts.”

All these quotations are taken from the published military record of Major-General Hugh L. Scott, U. S. A., Chief of Staff, and I am informed that General Scott is in substantial accord with the proposition now advanced to recruit Indian cavalry regiments for the present war emergency. General Scott, perhaps more than any other man, has had the experience to qualify him as a judge of the soldierly qualities and possibilities of the American Indian.

General Miles is another who can bear witness as to their efficiency, especially as scouts, for it is well known that Indians in that capacity were invaluable, and in many instances indispensable, to our forces in their campaigns in the West.

During Revolutionary times the Indian fought valiantly for the new Colonies. It was the barrier drawn across the State of New York by the Iroquois that kept the French north of the St. Lawrence, and prevented the destruction of the Colonies in the eastern States. It was the constant raiding of the Mohawks, Oneidas and Senecas upon the French settlements in Canada, and against the Huron allies of the French dominion, that it collapsed altogether under the assault of Wolfe.

The martial power of the Six Nations was broken forever in the Revolutionary War by General John Sullivan, but not before it had helped to determine the fate of all North America.

In the Civil War there were Indian soldiers with both the Federal and Confederate armies.

There is this day a Grand Army of the Republic Post on the Menominee Reservation, Wisconsin, composed entirely of Indian veterans of the Civil War—men who wear medals of honor for bravery in battle.

The roll of Indian fighters and military leaders would sound like the muster of the great captains of history. Red Cloud, a masterly leader and general; Two Moons, who led the Northern Cheyennes against Custer; Chief Joseph, the Leonidas of his race; Little Wolf, the Marshal Ney of the Northern Cheyennes; Chief Gall, who led the Sioux against Custer; American Horse, orator, statesman and general; Spotted Tail; White Bull; Sitting Bull; Tecumseh; Major-General John A. Logan, a hero on Southern battlefields; General John Morgan, a brigade commander on the staff of General Grant. The list might be extended, and would include notable Indians of notable military achievement.

It must be further borne in mind that everything in the early training of an Indian boy made for hardihood, bravery and endurance. He exemplifies the Swiss military idea of universal service—ability to gain a livelihood in the open, and accurately fire a gun. Before he could walk he was taught the use of the bow and arrow, and before he could walk he was taught to ride. Warriorship attained, he entered manhood a magnificent horseman, a good shot, and with a knowledge of nature that gave him insight useful as a strategist. His life in the open gave him an observant eye, prompt in detecting the slightest mark at his feet, or an object on the distant horizon.



Mr. Francis La Flesche, the Indian author, serving as Assistant Ethnologist in the Bureau of Ethnology, is responsible for the revelation of another interesting phase of Indian warfare. He calls attention to the fact that Indians long ago had adopted the trench warfare of today. In their war operations they dug trenches for the purpose of concealing themselves from the enemy, as well as for use in hiding their women and children during a fight.

Colonel Dodge has described the Indian system of signalling as worthy of all praise.

To any possible objection to the recruiting of Indian regiments composed solely of Indians, it need only be answered that we have permitted the black man to have regiments of his own color in the regular army, and surely we should not deny the red man the right accorded the black. Moreover, the record of the black regiments stands forth with a distinct merit.

Again, it is a fact that the segregation of troops according to race is an idea adopted by all nations. Fighting on the Western front today there is a medley of races—battalions that include the picturesque tribes from the four corners of the earth: the Turcos, the Senegalese, Gurkhas, Arabs, Maoris, Cossacks, the Nigerians, and the strange little brown Papuans from the Fiji Islands. Let the Indian troops be *distinctive*. The Greeks had their Thessalonian cavalry, the Turks their Mamelukes, the Russians their Cossacks, and the Germans their Uhlans, all of them distinctive, all of them effective.

When banded together as one people there is an *esprit de corps*, a unity of feeling, an enthusiasm and an expression of daring purpose, not to be compassed in any other possible fashion.

The Indian should be given opportunity to shine as the noble Red Man before his light as a people wholly fades. He would "come back" in a moment if allowed. What better service in these latter days could we render, after a "Century of Dishonor," than to clear our skirts as best we nationally can and give the Indians their chance to make historic record in these momentous days, of their sterling worth? It would be a crime to crush what may well be called "*An Indian Spirit*." We crush that spirit if we insist that he take his place beside that of the white man.

The enlistment of purely Indian units would also have a psychological effect upon the entire country. The enlistment of purely Indian units would fire the enthusiasm and arouse the patriotism of the entire country.

Certifying again to his ability and usefulness as a fighter, let me read a cablegram from London:

ASK UNITED STATES TROOPS TO BRING INDIANS TO AID IN FIGHT—  
CANADIAN OFFICERS SAY THEIR WORK AT THE FRONT  
SHOWS THEIR WORTH.

(*North American*, July 24, 1917.)

LONDON, July 1.

Canadian officers on leave here from the French front have informally recommended to American officials that American Indians be employed or enlisted for service with the American expeditionary forces. Manitobans with the Canadians have done excellent work at scouting in No Man's Land.

"These Indians with us," said a captain with the Canadian forces whose parents live in Philadelphia, "have performed services that never could have been performed by a white man. The Indian of North America has it in his bones to be a good fighter and a crafty one. We have them in nearly every regiment.

"Again and again during the past two years I have seen them go out at night between the trenches without firing a shot, without making the slightest noise or creating the slightest disturbance, come back leading a half-dozen or so Germans from whom much valuable information has been obtained."

Here is also a letter I received this morning from Charles C. Moore, a Shoshone Indian, who does business on Wall Street, and which is ample evidence of the kind of a letter an Indian can write:

63 WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY, *July 24, 1917.*

DR. JOSEPH K. DIXON,

*New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR DR. DIXON: In reply to your letter of recent date with reference to your bill for the House, I am pleased to learn that some one is making some effort on behalf of the American Indian, and I trust your efforts will meet with success.

For your information I would state that I was born on the Shoshone Indian Reservation and have spent the greater part of my life in close touch with the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians, as well as with the different tribes who visit on said reservations. Speaking from a knowledge of the Indian, my opinion is that he would make an excellent soldier under the leadership of intelligent men. We have but to look back over our own history to realize that the Indian is a good fighter.

In the early days he made our best troops hustle, and friendly tribes furnished men who were of the greatest help as scouts with our troops. The Indian is an excellent horseman, a born fighter, the best tracker in the world, and can stand the hardships of a long campaign under adverse conditions much better than can the average white man.

You will recall that shortly after the last trouble with Sitting Bull at Wounded Knee, several companies of Indians were taken into the United States service. One company was stationed at Fort Washakie under command of Captain Patrick Henry Ray, Sixth United States Infantry, and it was my good fortune to observe this company at garrison duty and to be with them on practice marches of some duration. I found them to be excellent soldiers, resourceful, and courageous, and in every way worthy of our uniform.

Every American citizen should consider it his greatest privilege to be allowed to serve his country, and I have yet to learn any good reason why the American Indian should not be allowed to serve the only country he has. Speaking from an economic standpoint, the Indian produces little at home that would assist the Government in the war. This is generally not true with the white man, and for this reason the Indian would be rendering his best service for his Government if enlisted in the Army.

Another important side that the Government must not lose sight of is the benefit of the training to the Indian and to future generations. If border service is contemplated, 10 regiments of Indian cavalry

would undoubtedly render excellent services and would release 10 regiments of white soldiers for war service. In any service, whether at home or abroad, the Indian will undoubtedly prove himself worthy in every particular.

Wishing you every success in your undertaking, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CHAS. C. MOORE..

MR. MCKENZIE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question?

MR. DIXON. Certainly.

MR. MCKENZIE. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he advocates the organization of 10 additional cavalry regiments to the number now provided for in the national-defense act, and whether he does not think that we have already provided for enough cavalry regiments?

MR. DIXON. There was an amendment to the Army bill providing that an opportunity be given for volunteers for four regiments or more of cavalry to patrol the border line, but that amendment was defeated, and there are 1400 miles of border line from California to Texas that is today practically unpatrolled.

MR. MCKENZIE. You do not get my point. In the national-defense act we provided for so many regiments of infantry and so many regiments of cavalry, and the question I am asking you is this, do you want the Congress of the United States to provide for 10 additional regiments of cavalry?

MR. DIXON. I do. I want 10 regiments of Indian cavalry to patrol the border, or to be sent abroad, and this is the reason: The national-defense act provided for regiments of cavalry, but they are dismounting those regiments today and using them as infantry, and in some instances reorganizing them as artillery, so that there is practically no cavalry in this country today.

MR. KAHN. You contend that 10 regiments of Indian cavalry could still be employed as a cavalry patrol along the Mexican border?

MR. DIXON. Yes, sir.

MR. MCKENZIE. As I understand it, you wanted the Indians to go to France?

MR. DIXON. I would rather have them in the West.

Let it be recalled also that it was twenty-six years ago when Lieutenant Scott recruited and trained his Troop L in the 7th Cavalry. There might have been a disposition *then* for the Indian to urge the presence of his squaw while he served as a soldier, but it must be remembered that this was a custom in his old days of tribal warfare, and that this very time was the transition period from his wild life to the days of slavery on the reservation.

#### AN UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENT FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF AN UNUSED FORCE

There is a further unanswerable consideration: During the last twenty-five years, from 1892 to 1916, the Government has appropriated for the military training of young men in the United States Military Academy at West Point the sum of twenty-five million one thousand eight hundred and four dollars and twenty cents (\$25,001,804.20), and during those twenty-five years there have been 1,930 graduates.



During the same period (twenty-five years, 1892 to 1916), the Government has appropriated for the training and education of the Indian, eighty-three million four hundred and fifty-eight thousand and fifty-three dollars (\$83,458,053.00)—an excess in training the Indian above the training of soldiers at West Point of fifty-eight million four hundred and fifty-six thousand two hundred and forty dollars and eighty cents (\$58,456,240.80), with a total enrollment of Indian pupils in the Indian schools and more pretentious academies of 723,252, an average enrollment for each of the twenty-five years of 28,930. These figures are taken from the annual reports of the Indian Office; the figures of West Point are supplied by the Legislative Reference Division's Office of the Library of Congress.

It is argued in some quarters that the Indian does not speak the English language, and therefore it would be awkward to segregate him in regiments. Then, it may be asked with reason, why have we expended the prodigious sum of over eighty-three millions of dollars on over 723,000 Indian students if they cannot speak English? It has not been found necessary to teach the Moros of the Philippines or any of the foreign contingents to speak English. It may be further stated that in all these Indian schools the students are enrolled in military classes, and are taught the manual of arms. We are proud to utilize the product of West Point and are eager to acclaim the military achievements of soldiers trained at this remarkable centre. But we hesitate to utilize the services of the Indian upon whose training we have spent over three times as many millions of dollars. Is it not a prodigal waste of money, or a prodigal waste of material, or a prodigal waste of an unused force?

It is related by Dr. George Haven Putman that when Lee the great and Grant the magnanimous had gathered at Appomattox, the one to acknowledge defeat, the other to make defeat glorious, that in arranging the details of the surrender, Grant looked about the group in the room, his eye falling upon General John Morgan, a brigade commander who had during the last few months served on Grant's staff. "General Morgan, I will ask you," said Grant, "as the only real American in the room, to draft this paper." Morgan was a full-blood *Indian*, belonging to the Iroquois tribe of New York. Thus it was that an INDIAN joined the hands of the North and the South after more than four years of bloody strife.

Out from among the Indian tribes there may come, if you call them, many a John Morgan.

"Quick at the bidding of their country's call  
Across the wide, far ranges red men come,  
Forgetting wrongs committed on their race;  
They hear the drumbeats like the tom-tom's call,  
To sit in judgment at the council place;  
And grave, erect, stern-eyed, they muster in  
Beside the white man, brother now in need."

JEAN BROOK BURT.

They stand ready for the call. Charles C. Moore, of New York City, writes to Mr. Rodman Wanamaker:

"I would be pleased to organize two or three troops from the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians in Wyoming. I was born and brought up on their reservation, speak their language, and am in close touch with them. The Shoshone Indians are born fighters, and yet have the distinction of having never fought against the whites. As you know, it was a Shoshone woman who guided the Lewis and Clark expedition across the difficult part of the continent. The young Indians are wonderful riders and would make good troopers."

MR. KAHN. Are the Shoshone Indians still living in tribal relations?

MR. DIXON. Yes, sir.

MR. KAHN. And the Arapahoes?

MR. DIXON. Yes, sir.

MR. KAHN. And the Papagoes?

MR. DIXON. Yes, sir; the Papagoes, the Pimas and Salt River Indians. I am now coming, Mr. Kahn, to Mr. Thackery's statement that you referred to.

Let me urge that the

COUNTRY NEEDS THE SERVICES OF THE INDIAN      There are fourteen hundred miles of border line between Mexico and the United States, stretching from California to Texas. Within a few rods of the line, in that incomparable Imperial Valley, which helps to furnish sustenance for the nation and the nations of the earth, there are irrigation projects that cost hundreds of millions of dollars. It would take years to reconstruct them, but they could be destroyed like the waving of a magic wand.

It is infantile folly to leave that vast border line without protection. It does not take the acumen of a statesman to discern the vulnerability of that unprotected border, and that man must be an unreasoning interpreter of coming events who cannot foresee that an alert and masterful foe will one day strike from that quarter. Nay, has not Germany already partitioned off Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California to a government which hates the "Gringos"?

The silence along that border at this hour is almost ominous, and foretells the coming storm. It is almost uncanny that the blow has not already come. Shall the Hun find us asleep?

When the Army bill was considered in both houses of the Congress, the amendment to create volunteer regiments of cavalry to patrol the border was defeated. And at this hour, vast millions of dollars' worth of property, cities and myriads of homes holding sacred womanhood and tender childhood, are left without protecting hand from the ravages of a wild and barbarous invasion.

To avail ourselves of the use of regiments of Indian cavalry to protect that long and important patrol, is but ordinary common sense. There are 50,000 Indians ready to spring into the saddle. They are inured to hardship. They can ride as no white man can ride. They can live where a white man cannot live. They know every foot of the ground. They would protect every mile of that border from vandal hand and invading foot.

Moreover, the use of these regiments of Indian cavalry would release units for service in France; would remake the Indian, reëstablishing in his mind a new sense of responsibility, and create a new apprehension of the meaning of life. It would give to him a new throb of life in the consciousness that HE was needed—that HE could be USEFUL by the employment of his strategic fighting powers to help quell the tempest of a world-wide rebellion.

Mr. Chairman:—A matter worthy of most serious consideration is to be found in a conversation held between Hon. Julius Kahn, of California, and Mr. Frank Thackery, the Superintendent of the Pima Reservation near Sacaton, Arizona. Mr. Thackery is without question one of the most reliable and effective men in the Indian service. He said to Mr. Kahn a few weeks ago, during a visit to Washington:

“My Indians—the Pimas, Maricopas and Papagoes—have a method of secret communication with the Yaqui Indians of Mexico, and if an uprising should occur, they could do more than any other force of which I know to quell the uprising.”

I ask you, Mr. Chairman, if it is either common sense or patriotism to allow this tremendous and effective force to remain idle and unused. It is known to all men that the Yaqui Indians are the dominant fighting power of Mexico, and to be able by some subtle and unseen power to enlist this terrible and vital arm of Germany and Mexico combined in the service of the United States, would be to hail the stars to fight in their courses for our beloved America.

Let me now speak to you for a moment upon

#### VII.

#### THE CAPABILITY OF THE INDIAN TO ASSUME THE PRIVILEGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

The ethnic value of the race is amply attested in the reports of Professor Ales Hrdlicka, Director of the Division of Physical Anthropology in the United States National Museum. Prof. Hrdlicka is one of the foremost anthropologists of this country, or any country. In his studies of skull formation, his researches led him to a comparison of the skulls of the intellectual New Englander and the Sioux Indian. Prof. Hrdlicka found that the Sioux skull measured a fraction larger than the skull of the Yankee, but that the thickness of the skull of the Indian allowed for equal brain capacity in both the white and the red. The Indian has the *capacity*, he has been denied the *opportunity*.

In public life there are Indians, or men who hold in their veins the blood of the “First Americans,” who have achieved most signal distinction. I need only mention the distinguished Senators from Kansas and Oklahoma, Mr. Curtis and Mr. Owen; such men in the Halls of Congress as the Hon. Charles D. Carter, of Oklahoma, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, to secure instant recognition of their high attainments. There is also Mr. Houston B. Teehee, the present Registrar of the United States Treasury, and Mr. Francis La Flesche, assistant in the Bureau of



Ethnology. In civil life I may refer to Dr. Carlos Montezuma, of Chicago, one of the most eminent surgeons in the country, who is a full-blood Indian.

INDIAN ORATORY I might speak of Indians whose oratory would rank with that of a Clay or a Webster. I have only to mention the names of such illustrious chiefs as Powhatan, Massasoit, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Red Jacket, Osceola, Black Hawk, Red Cloud, Logan and Grangula.

It was Black Hawk who said:

"An Indian who is as bad as the white man, could not live in our nation; he would be put to death and eaten up by the wolves. The white men are bad schoolmasters; they carry false looks and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them and ruin our wives. We told them to let us alone and keep away from us, but they followed on and beset our parties, and they coiled themselves among us like snakes. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe. We lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars, adulterers, lazy drones, all talkers and no workers."

The whole speech burns with the fiery eloquence of self-abnegation, lover of his kinsmen, patriotism and triumph of soul.

Again, I cite the celebrated speech of Logan after the murder by the whites of his wife and children. A man celebrated in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if he ever entered Logan's lodge hungry, and he gave him no meat; if he ever came cold and naked, and Logan clothed him not. During the last long and bloody war, Logan remained inactive in his lodge, and advocated peace. Such was his love for the stranger, that his countrymen pointed as they passed, and said *Logan is the friend of the white man*. I had thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Col. Cresap, who last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all of the relations of Logan, not sparing even his wife and children. There runs not a drop of his blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for vengeance. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

In his notes on Virginia, Mr. Jefferson says of this speech:

"I may challenge the whole of the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to this speech of Logan, the Mingo Chief."

All true oratory is like a window-pane—the character of the man speaking shines through. Countless examples of silvery Indian speech might be adduced.

One character example must suffice. When the Last Great Indian Council was held in the Valley of the Little Big Horn, under the direction

of the Second Historical Expedition to the Indian Country, sent out by Rodman Wanamaker, Chief Running Bird, from Oklahoma, said:

"I am getting old now, and all I wish at the present time is that my children shall grow up industrious and work, because they cannot get honor in the war as I used to get it—they can only get honor now by working hard. I can only teach my children that the way to get honor is to go to work and be good men and women. These impressions have been strengthened by this Council.

When Mr. Wanamaker sent forth his expedition of citizenship to all the tribes in the confines of the United States, President Wilson delivered an address into the phonographic receiver, which was reproduced in record form and delivered in his own tone of voice to the Indian tribes assembled on every reservation. Let me quote a paragraph of this remarkable address, demonstrating most clearly the ability of the Indian to take on citizenship. The time of this notable utterance dates back to May, 1913:

"The Great White Father now calls you his 'brothers,' not his 'children.' Because you have shown in your education and in your settled ways of life, staunch, manly, worthy qualities of sound character, the nation is about to give you distinguished recognition through the erection of a monument in honor of the Indian people, in the Harbor of New York. The erection of that monument will usher in that day which Thomas Jefferson said he would rejoice to see, 'when the Red Men become truly one people with us, enjoying all the rights and privileges we do, and living in peace and plenty.' I REJOICE TO FORESEE THE DAY."

Beyond the fact that the Indian is capable of taking on citizenship, I think few will have the temerity to dispute his *title* to citizenship in this country. He once owned in undisputed fee simple every foot of this great continent. He has never known any other country. To him, the soil which we have dedicated to liberty, freedom and equality has always been his "mother," while the sun that has warmed it into fruitfulness has always been his "father." That he has had little to do with the government and institutions which we have erected here, is less his fault than ours. We have never given him a fair chance. He has capacity for self-government. We know that men of his race have been wise in council, magnetic in leadership, intelligent in law-making, and just in the execution of laws. You have but to recall the very pertinent example of the code of laws expounded by the illustrious Iroquois—a code of laws not surpassed by any law-making confederation in history.

To-day the first argument that is advanced in support of the contention that the Government must continue to exercise the strictest guardianship over the Indian, holding and administering his property for him, is that if the Indian is given possession of his property he will speedily fall a victim to unscrupulous whites and be swindled out of it. What an indictment that is of the white man's treatment of the red man! We must protect him AGAINST OURSELVES, at the cost of his liberty, self-respect, and his potential development as a useful citizen.

To-day, under our present regulations, we permit the red man to enlist in the army, but he is the only man who can enlist without being or becoming a citizen of the United States.

The extraordinary exception that is thus made in the case of the Indian constitutes in itself a strong argument in support of the present measure. We *require* the white man or the black man, or any man, to be a citizen before he can enlist in our military establishment, but we *trust* the Indian to fight with us and for us without any such requirement. If the Indian is worthy of this trust, is he not worthy of citizenship?

Indeed, Mr. Chairman, is it not a matter of amazement that we can ask any man to fight for the flag, when that flag is not *his* flag, for a country that is not *his country* in the fullest and best sense of the word?

MR. KAHN. Mr. Dixon, do you contend that it is possible under the conscription act to take those Indians who are wards of the Republic into the military service?

MR. DIXON. Yes, sir; I do.

MR. KAHN. I think it has been held that they can not be taken by conscription. I think they took that very matter up, and if they are to be taken into the service at all, it will have to be done by a bill of this kind, or some other bill, because they have held, as I understand it, that you can not conscript a ward of the Nation.

MR. MCKENZIE. Is there anything in the law prohibiting the Federal Government from enlisting as volunteers a regiment of Indians to serve in the Regular Army? Is there any prohibition against that?

MR. KAHN. I do not know whether they would take them in or not. They are wards of the Nation, and they would have to have the consent of the Nation, I assume.

MR. GORDON. That consent could be given by Congress.

MR. DIXON. That is what we want in this bill. The point is that we want to give them the right, at the same time, to become a part of the country.

MR. ANTHONY. Are all Indians of military age now registered under the draft act?

MR. DIXON. An attempt was made to register them, but whether it was completed or not I can not say.

MR. KAHN. They refused to be registered?

MR. DIXON. Some of them did.

MR. GORDON. I suppose they were within their rights. Those sustaining tribal relations unquestionably would not be subject to draft.

MR. EVANS. They want to serve in their own companies or organizations.

MR. GORDON. In other words, they want to volunteer?

MR. KAHN. They want to serve in distinctive organizations composed entirely of their own people.

On that May day when a nation-wide registration was ordered of all males between the ages of 21 and 31, an incident occurred in the City Hall of Philadelphia which should bring a blush of shame to the cheek of Democracy.

A Sioux Indian presented himself at the registration booth for the selective draft. He carried in his hand a suit case. Once he owned the



whole of the United States, now he carried all of the United States that he owned in that suit case.

"Are you an alien?" he was asked.

"No; I was born in the United States."

"Then you are a citizen," he was informed.

"No, I am not a citizen. I am not an alien."

"What are you, then?"

"I am an Indian. I have neither the rights of an alien nor of a citizen, yet I was born in the United States. My father is a full-blood Sioux Chieftain. I am a male between 21 and 31, and must offer myself for military service."

The Registration Board was puzzled for many minutes, and finally recorded him as—"Big Face, carrying suit case, born in the United States, but not a citizen."

This brave young Indian is good enough to become a target for German shrapnel—but WE are not good enough to make him a part of the country for which he is willing to fight. He is good enough to fight our battles, but not good enough to become *one of us*.

When the stress was on all over the country to raise the Liberty Loan, a full-blood Creek Indian of Oklahoma, "Jackson Barnett" by name, had \$800,000 on deposit in the United States Treasury. He wished to subscribe to the Liberty Loan; but he is a ward of the Government—styled as "an incompetent." He was not allowed to subscribe. But a resolution passed the United States Senate allowing the Indian to subscribe \$640,000. In other words, the possessions of this Indian were good enough to use for the prosecution of the war—but the man himself is not good enough to share the privileges of the country to which he gives his money.

Gentlemen, is it not a dark and fateful irony that broods with black and vulture-like wings above this very palpable exhibition of tyranny! Are not these glaring examples—and there are ten thousand more—a striking contravention of the spirit and genius of our times? Is not the whole fabric of our administration of Indian affairs in direst conflict with the great principles of human democracy?

The sooner we restore to the Indian his birthright, his divine right of liberty, and grant to him the right of citizenship, the sooner shall we become consistent with the provisions of our Constitution and our national ideals.

The insistent and persistent persecution and elimination of the Indian is one of the tragic phases of our national development.

This gradual crushing of the Indian is pathetically set forth by Arthur Chapman, who has lived with the Indian and knows the Indian.

"The white man's road is hard for us to follow;

Our feet are bruised and bleeding, but who shall heed our cries?

The white man's code—what has it been but hollow?

No ears have caught our pleading—unheard the red man dies.

"The white man's creed is lost in white man's sinning;

Our faith is slowly flagging—no door shall let us in;

None sees our need, tho' fast our ranks are thinning,

The weary feet are lagging that wear the moccasin.

"The white man's word—what has it been but broken?  
Our lodge-fires low are burning—without the air is cold;  
And thus unheard, with sorrows deep, unspoken,  
All hopeless are we turning—we who were **KINGS** of old."

**THE ALLEGED CITIZENSHIP  
OF THE INDIAN AN  
ARTIFICE OF SPEECH**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—I anticipate the contention that many of our Indians are now citizens. That some of them are is true.

But it is an exhibition of flamboyant hypocrisy to foist that statement before the nation as a screen for dereliction in a righteous duty. Those Indians who are accounted as citizens are not citizens in the full, large sense of the meaning of that term. It is an artifice of speech—it is a substitution and subversion of the truth. And the statement is born of utter ignorance of the facts or wilful perversion of the truth.

The report of the Indian Commissioner for 1916 states that there are 78,985 Indians who are citizens of the United States, and that 26,290 of them vote.

It is pertinent here to say that the Indians enumerated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as citizens for the most part live in Oklahoma—a State which holds one-third of the entire Indian population of the country. Dakota must be added to Oklahoma. The right of suffrage has been granted by special acts of the Congress, or by reason of the Indians having received allotments of land prior to the year 1906, when the Burke Act was passed, making the Indian ineligible to vote until patents in fee simple were granted, and these patents in fee simple were not to be granted until the expiration of 25 years. There are also some who are nominated as citizens, several thousand, perhaps, who have received patents in fee simple since allotments were made in the provision of the Act of 1906.

The Omaha Indians in Nebraska and some of the Winnebagoes and Santees also vote. Most of the voters, however, are in the Dakotas and Oklahoma.

At Hampton Institute, on February 8, 1917, in celebration of Indian Citizenship Day, Miss Anna L. Dawes delivered an address on "The Indian as a Citizen." Miss Dawes said:

"It is thirty years since the Severalty bill was passed, making it possible for the Indians' land to be allotted and the Indian ward to become a citizen—thirty years, the life of a generation. I stand here today in behalf of my father, Henry Laurens Dawes, who wrote the bill and procured its passage. . . . My father greatly admired the high qualities of your race, and his interest in it was profound."

After expounding the powers and privileges of the bill which were to accrue to the interest and well-being of the Indian, Miss Dawes proceeds to say to the assembled Indians at Hampton Institute—

"All men do not believe as Mr. Dawes did, that liberty and law are worth more than protection, and, in one way and another since that day, restrictions have been preserved and full citizenship postponed."

Further she states:

"Mr. Dawes believed the fundamental principle of this—that of full and immediate citizenship to be the indispensable foundation of the whole structure. IT IS BY REASON OF THE LATER SMOTHERING OF THAT PRINCIPLE UNDER THE PILLOWS OF GOVERNMENT PROTECTION, THAT WE HAVE NEVER SEEN THE FULL EFFECT OF THE LAW."

Recurring to the Indian's ability to vote. The statement has been made that the figures 26,290 probably exceed the actual number of Indian voters by fifty per cent. There is, however, probably no way of disproving the figures, which are doubtless based upon those eligible rather than upon the real estimate of voters. We are to bear in mind that *ninety* per cent. of those mentioned as citizens who vote because they have received patents in fee for land, are landless, because of the system which did not in any particular prepare them for citizenship by giving them local self-government, and thus made them an easy prey for the white man the moment the patent in fee was granted. We are also to bear in mind that many of the voters who received the right to vote under the Burke Act are still living under restrictions as to their property and land which make their exercise of the franchise a sham and a mockery.

The term "citizenship" as applied to the Indian cannot be interpreted through the right to vote alone. The citizenship of the Indian has suffered, not only by depriving him of the right of the franchise in many cases, and not necessarily because of the restrictions (many of them impractical and deleterious) upon the free use of his property, *but* largely because of the narrow bureaucratic and petty political methods of administration which have destroyed self-government on the Indian reservations and have taken no account of the tribal form of government as a vehicle for carrying the Indian forward by gradual steps to an appreciation of the white man's government and the white man's law.

Technically, the Indians, many of them, have received the right to vote. Practically, they have been wholly robbed, by our system, of the opportunity and the only means (the process of local self-government) of preparing themselves for an intelligent exercise of that right. And such have been the methods and character of the restrictions upon their property that in the real sense of the term they ARE NOT CITIZENS AND CANNOT BE.

CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL      We fought a great war to free the black man,  
BUT THE INDIAN              and immediately gave him citizenship. We  
   fought another war to free Cuba, Porto Rico  
and the Philippines from Spanish tyranny, and we have given the Cuban complete autonomy, the Porto Rican full citizenship, and the Filipino partial citizenship and the right of self-government. Why should we continue to deny the red man, who does not suffer in comparison, either in ability or character, these same blessings? We accept the Nihilist and reject the Indian. Is it not intolerable injustice?

The truth of the matter is, we have neither been fair nor have we been just with the Indian. We have been guilty of injustice and unfairness



from the very day our forefathers undertook to civilize him with firearms and "firewater."

Those pages of our history which tell of our treatment of the Indian are pages that should bring a blush of shame. We came without his invitation, and we stayed without his permission. We taught him that force was right when exercised by the white, but a crime when resorted to by the red. He yielded us the most boundless kingdom on earth, and in return we gave him hopes of a kingdom on high. The truth is, we have stolen their earth and thus unfitted ourselves to share their heaven. We made his country our country, but we did not make our flag his flag. It is a scar upon our democracy that from the very outset of our dealings with the red man, until recent years, we have done little to teach him to love and revere the Stars and Stripes. Instead, we have taught him to fear the flag. It has been to him a flag of oppression and aggression. It stands to him as the badge of the policeman does to us—as a symbol of authority.

**THE INDIAN STILL LOVES THE FLAG** And yet, despite all this, the Indian does love the flag, and today he is ready to fight for it, and if need be, die for it!

We have abundant evidence of this. On a June day in 1913, at Oto, amid the fertile fields of Oklahoma, Indians of five tribes gathered for the sole purpose of taking part in the ceremony of raising the flag, and they heard a Pawnee Chieftain pledge their faith in these words:

"We Indians know the stars. We understand the heavens. We understand their importance, and although the Spanish flag once waved over us, when we see the blue in this flag, representing the blue in the heavens, when we see the stars upon the blue, which we know are from the heavens, we think God must have put it into the hearts of the people to make such a flag, and it comes to us today for the first time as our flag, and we are ready to honor it."

Turn from this pledge of loyalty uttered by a Pawnee Chief, to that of a Papago Chief on the white sands of the desert of Arizona:

"Today you bring us the flag. We turn our backs upon the past, and we will follow the flag. We will stand by it. We will do everything we can to protect it. We will fight for it!"

**MR. RODMAN WANAMAKER'S GREAT WORK** For a period of seven months ceremonies similar to these were held, and pledges like these were volunteered, on every Indian reservation in the United States, and the flag was thus carried to every one of the 189 tribes.

This demonstration of the loyalty and patriotism of the North American Indian was made possible by a distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania, Rodman Wanamaker, Esq., who has labored generously and assiduously to preserve a written and pictorial record of the Indian, and today is using the great powers of his mind and heart for the emancipation of the race.

A little less than ten years ago Mr. Wanamaker became impressed with the importance of preserving an accurate historical and pictorial record of the "Vanishing Race," for the benefit of future generations, and

to this end he equipped and sent out under competent leadership three expeditions to the Indian country to study the Indian on his home ground. The reports of these expeditions revealed such virility of mind and integrity of character as fundamental traits of the Indian, that Mr. Wanamaker determined that he would take the lead in a movement for the erection of a great National Indian Memorial. Acting upon his suggestion, the Congress of the United States passed an act in 1911 authorizing the erection of this Memorial on the Government reservation at Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island; and the Federal Fine Arts Commission, together with the Commission created by the Congress, located the site of the Memorial on this hill-crest, overlooking the Harbor of New York.

Opening ceremonies incident to the work were held there on Washington's birthday, in 1913, and William Howard Taft, then President of the United States, indicated his interest in the project by attending the ceremonies and turning the first shovelful of earth. Members of his Cabinet, Governors, Mayors of cities, eminent citizens from all walks of life, a battalion of United States troops, military bands, AND THIRTY-TWO INDIAN CHIEFS from Western reservations participated in the notable ceremonies.

**THE INDIANS' PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE U. S. GOVERNMENT**      Upon that occasion these Indian chieftains united in the impressive rite of raising the American flag. For the first time in the history of their people, they raised our flag and made it their flag. And under its folds these grizzled old warriors signed by pen and thumb-print a declaration of allegiance to the United States Government, which they had composed themselves, saying:

"THOUGH A CONQUERED RACE, WITH OUR RIGHT HANDS EXTENDED IN BROTHERLY LOVE, OUR LEFT HANDS HOLDING THE PIPE OF PEACE, WE HEREBY BURY ALL PAST ILL FEELINGS AND PROCLAIM ABROAD TO ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD OUR FIRM ALLEGIANCE TO THIS NATION AND TO THE STARS AND STRIPES, AND DECLARE THAT HENCEFORTH AND FOREVER, IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE, AND EVERY FIELD OF ENDEAVOR, WE SHALL BE AS BROTHERS, STRIVING HAND IN HAND, AND WILL RETURN TO OUR PEOPLE AND TELL THEM THE STORY OF THIS MEMORIAL AND URGE UPON THEM THEIR CONTINUAL ALLEGIANCE TO OUR COMMON COUNTRY."

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee, after such a profound and far-reaching declaration of loyalty and patriotism, can there be a doubt in your minds regarding the safety and obligation of the nation to enlist the Indians as units, to serve against the bitterest and most despotic antagonists the world has ever known?

It was the inspiration growing out of the spirit and solemnity of this occasion that led Mr. Wanamaker to organize and equip the Expedition of Citizenship which repeated on every Indian reservation the patriotic ceremonies carried out at Fort Wadsworth. Mr. Wanamaker not only

presented a flag to each tribe, but his representatives secured on parchment the signatures by pen and thumb-print of the 189 tribes to the declaration of allegiance composed for the Memorial ceremonies.

This Expedition was sent out under the sanction and with the approval of the President of the United States, who was then, as now, Woodrow Wilson.

Again I recur to the address of Thomas Jefferson :

“My children, I shall rejoice to see the day when the red men, our neighbors, become truly one people with us, enjoying all the rights and privileges we do.”

THAT is the pledge and promise of citizenship made to the American Indian by President Jefferson, and endorsed and renewed by President Wilson a hundred years later. It is high time that we REDEEMED it.

Mr. Wanamaker has suggested the erection of a great Indian Memorial, but this Government should rear the Indian a memorial, greater, more lasting, and more glorious than any structure of granite and bronze. We should recruit the Indian to help fight the battles of the nation, and then grant him citizenship at once, a priceless boon and a heritage for all time; and we should do this, not merely because we want him to fight for us, but it becomes us to enter this war with clean hands. Of what avail our blows against injustice abroad, if we do not practice justice at home?

Be not unmindful of the words of the President in picturing this as a war between Democracy and Autocracy. We boast ourselves the greatest democracy of all ages. We should make good that boast by completing our democratization by giving to that element of our people, the American Indian, a full, complete and immediate citizenship, the obligations of which they are qualified to discharge and the sacrifices of which they are willing to make.

The nation surely will not longer deny this supreme emotion to the red man. The nation will surely call into active service this efficient and still unused force, and then will allow the red man to call the country which he once owned, HIS “Fatherland.” I plead with you, gentlemen of the Military Committee of the Senate, to allow the Indian to look upon the Stars and Stripes no longer as a badge of authority, but as the undying symbol of patriotism, liberty and justice.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. VICTOR J. EVANS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. KAHN. Do you desire to make a statement?

MR. EVANS. The only statement I care to make is that the Northern Cheyennes, who are the greatest of the fighting Indians and are known as the fighting Cheyennes, have communicated with me by telegram and say that they want to fight, but that they do not want to be forced into regiments with soldiers from Montana and other places. They want their own organizations. There are only a very few of them who can speak the English language. The Sioux feel the same way, and also the Crows, Blackfeet, and all the plains tribes.

MR. KAHN. How many regiments do you think could be raised among those people?



MR. EVANS. Among the Sioux there are about 30,000.

MR. KAHN. Of fighting age?

MR. EVANS. No; that is the total. There are 1,500 Northern Cheyennes, about 1,500 Crows, and about 2,000 Blackfeet, and about 2,000 Flatheads.

MR. KAHN. That is the total in each tribe?

MR. EVANS. Yes; you could raise 10,000 cavalry, including the Comanches, Kiowas, Southern Cheyennes, and Arapahoes. Among them all probably you could get 25,000 cavalry of first-class men who could pass the physical examination.

MR. KAHN. And they are anxious to fight for their country if they are given the opportunity?

MR. EVANS. Yes; but they want their own organizations, under Regular Army officers.

MR. KAHN. We are doing that now.

MR. EVANS. But the War Department opposes the organization of any further separate companies based on race.

MR. MCKENZIE. Would they go into infantry regiments?

MR. EVANS. They are natural-born horsemen.

MR. GREENE. Will there be any likelihood of any tribal jealousies or friction if tribes are intermixed in these organizations?

MR. EVANS. No; they all visit each other now. They hold dances every fall, you know. For instance, on the Custer battle-field they held a celebration, and there were 20,000 Indians there, and two or three thousand of them had automobiles. They came all the way from the Pacific coast.

MR. KAHN. Do they speak a common language?

MR. EVANS. They all speak a sign language.

DR. DIXON. They have a universal sign language, but there are as many dialects in California and Washington among the Indians as in all of Europe.

MR. KAHN. From how many various tribes have you heard to the effect that they would be willing to fight in this war?

MR. EVANS. Well, from practically all the plains tribes—the Sioux, Cheyennes, Blackfoot, Arapahoes, Crows, Nez Percé—

DR. DIXON. The Nez Percé are the people who produced Chief Joseph, you know.

MR. KAHN. Yes. The War Department has not shown any intention of mixing up the black man with the white man in one regiment.

MR. EVANS. No; and they say that is as far as they want to go, and they do not want to carry that out with the Indians. A number of Carlisle students have already enlisted in different companies in the East.

MR. KAHN. But those students have severed their tribal relationship, have they not?

MR. EVANS. No; of course, a great many of those students are now working in munitions plants. There are at least twenty students down here at Gibbsboro, because that teaches them a trade; and in the Baldwin Locomotive Works, I understand, there are over one hundred Indians—Apaches, Sioux, and all—working at the lathes.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. FRANCIS LA FLESCHÉ, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of Mr. Kahn's bill for one very important reason, and that is, the Indians are very fond of keeping together, and when separated they become very homesick. Now, at the time of the Civil War a number of our young men—I belong to the Omaha Tribe—and a number of the Winnebago

people, who are a neighboring tribe, had young men in the Army, and some of them are living today, and sometimes when they got together and spoke about their experiences in the Army they said that the greatest hardship that they endured was their separation—putting one Indian in one company and so on all around. Sometimes only two were sent together in a company, and they became so homesick that they were often tempted to desert; and, in fact, one man deserted because he was all alone in one company. Therefore, I think this bill is a good provision, because if you keep the Indians together as a unit they give better service. As to their fighting qualities, they have demonstrated over and over again that they have not lacked courage at any time.

MR. KAHN. Is it your experience that in the present war they would like to participate with the Americans if they can be kept together in separate regiments?

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. I am sure they would, because even back in the sixties these people whom I am telling you about were not citizens, but at the same time they regarded themselves as part of the people of this country, and they saw that the country was in danger and they offered their services.

THE CHAIRMAN. And they fought on both sides?

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. Yes.

MR. GREENE. In that connection may I ask you a question, not prompted altogether by curiosity, but because it enters into this question: Apart from men in the Indian reservations who have proven themselves individually worthy of citizenship, do the great bulk of the people understand quite intelligently the character of the war we are engaged in and the seriousness of it so far as this country is concerned?

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. They do. I have been among the Omahas a number of times since this war began. They have discussed their rights and privileges in this country, and they feel that they are a part of this country, and when the country is in danger they are willing to go and take part in the defense of it. There was one old Indian who is seventy years old, who said: "I wish I were younger, about forty years younger; I would not hesitate to go into the Army."

MR. MCKENZIE. There is not any prejudice that you know of among the white men growing out of Indians serving with them, is there; white men as a rule have no prejudice against the Indian?

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. I know of none today, but at the time I am telling you about, during the Civil War, these men who served in these various companies said there was a little prejudice against them, and at times they had to knock down a soldier or two to defend themselves.

MR. MCKENZIE. The point I make is this: White men as a rule do not want to serve with Negroes, but that same prejudice does not exist toward the Indians.

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. No, sir; I do not think it does.

MR. MCKENZIE. I have never observed it.

MR. GREENE. On the other hand, there is admiration and respect for the Indian. He is not regarded at all in the same status with the Negro.

MR. LA FLESCHÉ. That is true. At the same time I think the language is a barrier, because these men who served in the United States Army spoke very little English, and they could not talk with the soldiers. But when they are among themselves they are very happy.

(The committee thereupon adjourned.)

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